THURSDAY, MARCH 8, 1877

SCIENTIFIC WORTHIES

X.—HERMANN LUDWIG FERDINAND HELMHOLTZ

THE contributions made by Helmholtz to mathematics, physics, physiology, psychology, and æsthetics, are well known to all cultivators of these various subjects. Most of those who have risen to eminence in any one of these sciences have done so by devoting their whole attention to that science exclusively, so that it is only rarely that the cultivators of different branches can be of service to each other by contributing to one science the skill they have acquired by the study of another.

Hence the ordinary growth of human knowledge is by accumulation round a number of distinct centres. The time, however, must sooner or later arrive when two or more departments of knowledge can no longer remain independent of each other, but must be fused into a consistent whole. But though men of science may be profoundly convinced of the necessity of such a fusion, the operation itself is a most arduous one. For though the phenomena of nature are all consistent with each other, we have to deal not only with these, but with the hypotheses which have been invented to systematise them; and it by no means follows that because one set of observers have laboured with all sincerity to reduce to order one group of phenomena, the hypotheses which they have formed will be consistent with those by which a second set of observers have explained a different set of phenomena. Each science may appear tolerably consistent within itself, but before they can be combined into one, each must be stripped of the daubing of untempered mortar by which its parts have been prematurely made to cohere.

Hence the operation of fusing two sciences into one generally involves much criticism of established methods, and the explosion of many pieces of fancied knowledge which may have been long held in scientific reputation.

Most of those physical sciences which deal with things without life have either undergone this fusion or are in a fair state of preparation for it, and the form which each finally assumes is that of a branch of dynamics.

Many cultivators of the biological sciences have been impressed with the conviction that for an adequate study of their subject a thorough knowledge of dynamical science is essential. But the manner in which some of them have cut and pared at the facts in order to bring the phenomena within the range of their dynamics, has tended to throw discredit on all attempts to apply dynamical methods to biology.

We purpose to make a few remarks on a portion of the scientific work of Helmholtz, who is himself the most illustrious example not merely of extensive acquaintance with science combined with thoroughness, but of a thoroughness which of itself demands the mastery of many sciences, and in so doing makes its mark on each.

Hermann Ludwig Ferdinand Helmholtz was born August 31, 1821, at Potsdam, where his father, Ferdinand Helmholtz, was Professor of the Gymnasium. His mother, Caroline Penn, was of an emigrated English family. His father's means would not admit of his studying science otherwise than as a medical student. He therefore became a military surgeon, and continued in that position till the end of 1848, when he was appointed Assistant of the Anatomical Museum of Berlin, and Teacher of Anatomy at the Academy of Arts. In the following year he went to Königsberg, in Prussia, as Professor of Physiology. In 1856 he became Professor of Anatomy and Physiology at the University of Bonn; in 1859, Professor of Physiology at the University of Heidelberg; and, in 1871, Professor of Natural Philosophy to the University of Berlin.

It was during his career as a military surgeon that he published his celebrated essay on "The Conservation of Energy."

The science of dynamics has been so long established, that it is hardly conceivable that any addition to its fundamental principles should yet remain to be made. But in the application of pure dynamics to actual bodies a great deal remains to be done. The great work for the men of science of the present age is to extend our knowledge of the motion of matter from those instances in which we can see and measure the motion to those in which our senses are unable to trace it. For this purpose we must avail ourselves of such principles of dynamics as are applicable to cases in which the precise nature of the motion cannot be directly observed, and we must also discover methods of observation by which effects which indicate the nature of the unseen motion may be measured. It is unnecessary here to refer to the labours of the different men of science who, each in his own way, have contributed by experiment, calculation, or speculation, to the establishment of the principle of the conservation of energy; but there can be no doubt that a very great impulse was communicated to this research by the publication in 1847, of Helmholtz's essay "Ueber die Erhaltung der Kraft," which we must now (and correctly, as a matter of science) translate *Conservation of Energy*, though in the translation which appeared in Taylor's "Scientific Memoirs," the word *Kraft* was translated *Force* in accordance with the ordinary literary usage of that time.

In this essay Helmholtz showed that if the forces acting between material bodies were equivalent to attractions or repulsions between the particles of these bodies, the intensity of which depends only on the distance, then the configuration and motion of any material system would be subject to a certain equation, which, when expressed in words, is the principle of the conservation of energy.

Whether this equation applies to actual material systems is a matter which experiment alone can decide, but the search for what was called the perpetual motion has been carried on for so long, and always in vain, that we may now appeal to the united experience of a large number of most ingenious men, any one of whom, if he had once discovered a violation of the principle, would have turned it to most profitable account.

Besides this, if the principle were in any degree incorrect, the ordinary processes of nature, carried on as they are incessantly and in all possible combinations, would be certain now and then to produce observable and even startling phenomena, arising from the accumulated effects of any slight divergence from the principle of conservation.

But the scientific importance of the principle of the conservation of energy does not depend merely on its accuracy as a statement of fact, nor even on the remarkable conclusions which may be deduced from it, but on the fertility of the methods founded on this principle.

Whether our work is to form a science by the colligation of known facts, or to seek for an explanation of obscure phenomena by devising a course of experiments, the principle of the conservation of energy is our unfailing guide. It gives us a scheme by which we may arrange the facts of any physical science as instances of the transformation of energy from one form to another. It also indicates that in the study of any new phenomenon our first inquiry must be, How can this phenomenon be explained as a transformation of energy? What is the original form of the energy? What is its final form? and What are the conditions of the transformation?

To appreciate the full scientific value of Helmholtz's little essay on this subject, we should have to ask those to whom we owe the greatest discoveries in thermodynamics and other branches of modern physics, how many times they have read it over, and how often during their researches they felt the weighty statements of Helmholtz acting on their minds like an irresistible driving-power.

We come next to his researches on the eye and on vision, as they are given in his book on Physiological Optics. Every modern oculist will admit that the ophthalmoscope, the original form of which was invented by Helmholtz, has substituted observation for conjecture in the diagnosis of diseases of the inner parts of the eye, and has enabled operations on the eye to be made with greater certainty.

But though the ophthalmoscope is an indispensable aid to the oculist, a knowledge of optical principles is of still greater importance. Whatever optical information he had was formerly obtained from text-books, the only practical object of which seemed to be to explain the construction of telescopes. They were full of very inelegant mathematics, and most of the results were quite inapplicable to the eye.

The importance to the physiologist and the physician of a thorough knowledge of physical principles has often been insisted on, but unless the physical principles are presented in a form which can be directly applied to the complex structures of the living body, they are of very little use to him; but Helmholtz, Donders, and Listing, by the application to the eye of Gauss's theory of the cardinal points of an instrument, have made it possible to acquire a competent knowledge of the optical effects of the eye by a few direct observations.

But perhaps the most important service conferred on science by this great work consists in the way in which the study of the eye and vision is made to illustrate the conditions of sensation and of voluntary motion. In no department of research is the combined and concentrated light of all the sciences more necessary than in the investigation of sensation. The purely subjective school of psychologists used to assert that for the analysis of sensation no apparatus was required except what every man carries within himself, for, since a sensation can exist nowhere except in our own consciousness, the only possible method for the study of sensations must be an unbiased contemplation of our own frame of mind. Others might study the conditions under which an impulse is propagated along a nerve, and might suppose that while doing so they were studying sensations, but though such a procedure leaves out of account the very essence of the phenomenon, and treats a fact of consciousness as if it were an electric current, the methods which it has suggested have been more fertile in results than the method of self-contemplation has ever been.

But the best results are obtained when we employ all the resources of physical science so as to vary the nature and intensity of the external stimulus, and then consult consciousness as to the variation of the resulting sensation. It was by this method that Johannes Müller established the great principle that the difference in the sensations due to different senses does not depend upon the actions which excite them, but upon the various nervous arrangements which receive them. Hence the sensation due to a particular nerve may vary in intensity, but not in quality, and therefore the analysis of the infinitely various states of sensation of which we are conscious must consist in ascertaining the number and nature of those simple sensations which, by entering into consciousness each in its own degree, constitute the actual state of feeling at any instant.

If, after this analysis of sensation itself, we should find by anatomy an apparatus of nerves arranged in natural groups corresponding in number to the elements of sensation, this would be a strong confirmation of the correctness of our analysis, and if we could devise the means of stimulating or deadening each particular nerve in our own bodies, we might even make the investigation physiologically complete.

The two great works of Helmholtz on "Physiological Optics" and on the "Sensations of Tone," form a splendid example of this method of analysis applied to the two kinds of sensation which furnish the largest proportion of the raw materials for thought.

In the first of these works the colour-sensation is investigated and shown to depend upon three variables or elementary sensations. Another investigation, in which exceedingly refined methods are employed, is that of the motions of the eyes. Each eye has six muscles by the combined action of which its angular position may be varied in each of its three components, namely, in altitude and azimuth as regards the optic axis, and rotation about that axis. There is no material connection between these muscles or their nerves which would cause the motion of one to be accompanied by the motion of any other, so that the three motions of one eye are mechanically independent of the three motions of the other eye. Yet it is well known that the motions of the axis of one eye are always accompanied by corresponding motions of the other. This takes place even when we cover one eye with the fingers. We feel the cornea of the shut eye rolling under our fingers as we roll the open eye up or down, or to left or right; and indeed we are quite unable to move one eye without a corresponding motion of the other.

Now though the upward and downward motions are effected by corresponding muscles for both eyes, the motions to right and left are not so, being produced by the inner muscle of one eye along with the outer muscle of the other, and yet the combined motion is so regular, that we can move our eyes quite freely while maintaining

during the whole motion the condition that the optic axes shall intersect at some point of the object whose motions we are following. Besides this, the motion of each eye about its optic axis is found to be connected in a remarkable way with the motion of the axis itself.

The mode in which Helmholtz discusses these phenomena, and illustrates the conditions of our command over the motions of our bodies, is well worth the attention of those who are conscious of no limitation of their power of moving in a given manner any organ which is capable of that kind of motion.

In his other great work on the "Sensation of Tone as a Physiological Basis for the Theory of Music," he illustrates the conditions under which our senses are trained in a yet clearer manner. We quote from Mr. Ellis's translation, p. 95 :—

"Now practice and experience play a far greater part in the use of our senses than we are usually inclined to assume, and since, as just remarked, our sensations derived from the senses are primarily of importance only for enabling us to form a correct conception of the world without us, our practice in the observation of these sensations usually does not extend in the slightest degree beyond what is necessary for this purpose. We are certainly only far too much disposed to believe that we must be immediately conscious of all that we feel and of all that enters into our sensations. This natural belief, however, is founded only on the fact that we are always immediately conscious, without taking any special trouble, of everything necessary for the practical purpose of forming a correct acquaintance with external nature, because during our whole life we have been daily and hourly using our organs of sense and collecting results of experience for this precise object."

Want of space compels us to leave out of consideration that paper on Vortex Motion, in which he establishes principles in pure hydrodynamics which had escaped the penetrative power of all the mathematicians who preceded him, including Lagrange himself; and those papers on electrodynamics where he reduces to an intelligible and systematic form the laborious and intricate investigations of several independent theorists, so as to compare them with each other and with experiment.

But we must not dwell on isolated papers, each of which might have been taken for the work of a specialist, though few, if any, specialists could have treated them in so able a manner. We prefer to regard Helmholtz as the author of the two great books on Vision and Hearing, and now that we are no longer under the sway of that irresistible power which has been bearing us along through the depths of mathematics, anatomy, and music, we may venture to observe from a safe distance the whole figure of the intellectual giant as he sits on some lofty cliff watching the waves, great and small, as each pursues its independent course on the surface of the sea below.

"I must own," he says, "that whenever I attentively observe this spectacle, it awakens in me a peculiar kind of intellectual pleasure, because here is laid open before the bodily eye what, in the case of the waves of the invisible atmospheric ocean, can be rendered intelligible only to the eye of the understanding, and by the help of a long series of complicated propositions."—("Tonempfindungen," p. 42).

Helmholtz is now in Berlin, directing the labours of able men of science in his splendid laboratory. Let us hope that from his present position he will again take a comprehensive view of the waves and ripples of our intellectual progress, and give us from time to time his idea of the meaning of it all.

J. CLERK MAXWELL

THE UNIVERSITIES BILL

PEOPLE'S notions of "reform" differ very much according to their interest in or knowledge of the kind of thing to be reformed. At present there is much talk of university reform, but there is really no proposition before the public for reforming the universities. The Government Bill is simply intended to adjust certain parts of the machinery of the ancient corporations at Oxford and Cambridge and to oil the wheels which with the lapse of time have become rusty. There is no intention to make Oxford and Cambridge what they were three centuries ago—namely universities in the sense in which the word "university" is applied (excepting the cases of London and Durham) to every other institution claiming the title in civilised Europe. The historic process by which the endowed boarding-houses at Oxford and Cambridge known as colleges fell into the hands of the clerical party, and subsequently became possessed of the sole control of the university, suppressing the higher Faculties, with the exception of the Theological, and driving from the university all students but those who could afford to make a ruinous annual payment to the cooks, butlers, scouts, and tutors of one college or another in exchange for indifferent board and lodging and a "religious education" in a school-boy's horn-book, under the disciplinary system devised by the Jesuits, is *not* to be reversed. No re-constitution of the Faculties—the absolutely essential step in the reformation of decayed universities—is proposed, nor is the Bachelor-of-Arts curriculum to be relegated to its proper place—the preparatory schools. The colleges are still to have it all their own way, are to be allowed still to compete with one another in buying at the rate of 100*l*. a year the chances of distinction which a promising school-boy can give by entering his name on the college-books; they are still to pursue the fruitless task of training these youths so as to obtain for the college the largest possible number of "first classes" in an examination arranged and conducted by the colleges (whose representatives far outnumber the professoriate) in subjects and methods which the student should either have dropped at the threshold of the university or should pursue in a spirit and with a thoroughness incompatible with the conditions of these competitive examinations. Prize fellowships awarded by competitive examination are still to be the incentives to these mercenary studies on the part of the young men; the university professor, even though he may be multiplied by two, is still to occupy the ambiguous position which is at present his lot—by right the director of the studies connected with his chair, but, in fact, shorn of the privileges and functions of his office through the eager competition of colleges for examination honours and tutorial fees. Worse than all, the ridiculous "matriculation" examinations are *not* to be superseded by a thorough university matriculation examination—to the want of which the disgraceful inefficiency of school-teaching in all our public schools is due.